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Intertidal Interactions: Stakeholder Relationships Arising from Kitesurfing in Paje, Zanzibar

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**Intertidal Interactions: Stakeholder Relationships Arising from Kitesurfing in
Paje, Zanzibar**

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Abstract

This study investigated the growth of the kitesurfing industry in Paje, Unguja, Zanzibar in relation to its social, economic, and environmental impacts on the community. Prior research has noted that the increase in unregulated kitesurfing tourism in the intertidal zone in Paje has led to conflicts between various stakeholder groups—including seaweed farmers, fishermen, the tourist industry, tourists, and community members. This research aimed to promote a better understanding amongst all actors regarding aspects in which the kitesurfing industry can continue to benefit those involved while ensuring that the rights and livelihoods of the locals are upheld. In order to do so, a diverse array of research methods including focus groups, formal interviews, informal interviews, and nonparticipant observation involving several stakeholder groups were employed. In addition, reviews of local as well as national policies and laws were conducted. It was concluded that the intertidal zone of Paje village lacks adequate management thus contributing to mounting sources of tension between the stakeholder groups that were studied. Thus, it is recommended that efforts be made to involve the community as well as stakeholder groups in order to create an integrated coastal management plan. In doing so, there is the potential to create sustainable and mutually beneficial relationships between the kitesurfing industry and all involved parties in Paje that are vital to mitigating conflict and ensuring equitable use of Paje's intertidal zone in the future.

Introduction

Balancing coastal zone management and tourism growth is a challenging issue for many countries in the developing world. While a growing tourism industry has promising economic benefits such as increasing foreign investment capable of boosting a struggling economy, it also has the potential to result in conflict and unsustainable growth if not developed properly (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2003). Without sufficient management of tourism industry growth, developing nations run the risk of putting access to vital natural resources in jeopardy, marginalizing local populations, and enabling foreign investors to exploit host communities—defined here as local populations with traditional ties to given locations (The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, 2007). In order to increase the benefits of tourism to local communities, Lange (2015) has suggested better education and training of local people for tourism jobs, improved infrastructure, more reliance on the local community for goods, and further research on tourism. According to Gustavsson et al. (2014), just tourism development must ensure that local communities are relied upon to help steer management decisions and given an equitable share of the resulting benefits. As tourism industries such as kitesurfing continue to grow in Zanzibar, so too will the economic prospects coupled with the need for effective coastal zone management (Gustavson et al., 2009).

Coastal Tourism

Tourism has long been seen as a sector key to development and economic prosperity across nations regardless of their economic state. According to the World Tourism Organization, tourism has remained one of the fastest-growing and largest economic sectors throughout the world. Unlike many other global sectors, tourism is one of the few sectors that have experienced virtually uninterrupted growth over the past six decades (United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 2015). Studies have shown that this growth likely will not be slowing down in the coming years with international tourist arrivals expected to continually increase by approximately 3.3% between 2010 and 2030 (UNWTO, 2011).

Regarded globally as a key sector to increasing socio-economic progress and national economic prosperity, tourism in Zanzibar has been identified as a major priority in development plans over the past three decades. Furthermore, the UNWTO has identified Tanzania—and more specifically Zanzibar—as an emerging tourist destination, placing it on track to increase arrivals at more than twice the rate of those in advanced economies between 2010 and 2030. Thus, developing nations like Zanzibar have a lot at stake in developing their tourist sector (UNWTO, 2015). According to Zanzibar's Five Years Marketing Plan (2015-2020), tourism stands as the fastest growing sector. It was reported that 80% of foreign exchange was derived from the tourism sector in addition to generating 27% of the Gross Domestic Product (Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT), 2013). With thousands of tourists visiting each year, the tourism sector has had economically, environmentally, and socially drastic impacts. For this reason, tourism must be intentionally and carefully developed in order to serve in the interest of multiple stakeholder groups (Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, 2013).

Tourism began to grow rapidly in Zanzibar in the mid-1980s (Lange, 2015). Paje, in particular, has become a popular destination for tourists from Europe and around the world due to its white sand beaches and favorable conditions for kitesurfing. The arrival and growth of the kitesurfing industry in Zanzibar is a fairly recent phenomenon. Developed as a sport in the mid-1980s, kitesurfing was introduced in Zanzibar around 2001 and started to attract international attention shortly thereafter. Initially taking place primarily off the northern coast of Zanzibar around the resort destinations of Nungwi, it was not until approximately 2005 that kitesurfing began to move down to the southeast coast of Zanzibar. Paje has since rapidly developed as a kitesurfing hub boasting 200-300 kites a day during the high seasons of June through September and mid-December through mid-March (kitesurfing primary informant, personal communication, April 26, 2016).

Coastal Zone Management

It is widely accepted that natural resource conservation of the intertidal zone regions in the Western Indian Ocean (WIO) such as Tanzania has not reached levels of

success capable to ensure a sustainable future (Norlund et al., 2014). At the local level, a number of Zanzibari communities were identified as unable to respond to environmental stresses effectively due to barriers in resource availability, education, regulation, and governance. Many of the responses that communities in Zanzibar have employed in order to deal with environmental, economic, and social changes have been predicted to be maladaptive in the long term (Suckall et al., 2014). In order to quell coastal and marine resource conflicts in Tanzania, prior studies have recommended that the government work towards a streamlined, interdepartmental approach to natural resource management (Sukhdev and Singer, 2009; Masalu, 2000). Natural resource use policy and governance intervention are needed in order to help communities in Zanzibar successfully respond to changes in climate, resource availability, and land use in the long term.

Paje Stakeholder Groups

While development of tourism and associated potential of coastal resources is often discussed in macroeconomic terms in respect to foreign exchange revenue and employment, the manner in which this affects local communities and the various stakeholders within them is discussed far less often (Wallevik & Jiddawi, 2001). Environmentally, high tourist numbers on Zanzibar creates competition with host communities for the same resources (Wallevik & Jiddawi, 2001). Concerns over language ability and technical skills have caused individuals from host communities to be largely excluded from higher-level employment in the hospitality industry. Employment of workers from outside the host community in tourism establishments in Zanzibar has led to a loss of economic opportunity both at the individual and village levels (Mutayoba and Mbwete, 2013; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2003). Finally, tensions have arisen between the host community, tourists, and the hospitality industry due to fundamental cultural and religious differences (Tobisson, 2013; Wallevik & Jiddawi, 2001).

Stakeholder groups in the Paje intertidal zone include various levels of government, small-scale subsistence artisanal fishermen, teachers, hotel or tourism employees, farmers, seaweed farmers, and general community members.

Those who rely on traditional livelihoods dependent on the intertidal zone include fishermen and seaweed farmers. While fishing has been a primary means of generating income for generations, seaweed farming only became a primary source of income in the past three decades in Paje Village (Tobisson, 2013; Hamidu, 2012). In recent years both livelihoods have faced external pressures that have led to declines in profitability. Thus, seaweed farmers and fishermen have found themselves in a vulnerable state in which long hours are required to economically sustain themselves and their families economically. Despite their efforts, both stakeholder groups are now more sensitive to the effects of the kitesurfing industry and other external pressures.

Individuals employed in the hospitality industry in Paje also have a stake in the intertidal zone in the sense that their income is partially reliant on its use. The hospitality industry includes those who are directly employed by the hotels—such as hotel managers, cooks, and gardeners—as well as those who work in tourist shops, dive centers, and excursion establishments. While many members of this stakeholder group are residents of the host population of Paje Village, there are also a growing number of non-locals from other regions of Zanzibar, the Tanzanian mainland, and abroad (Sharpley & Ussi, 2014). As tourism growth is a major economic goal in Zanzibar, hospitality industry stakeholders have a lot of power when it comes to decision-making in Paje. (ZCT, 2013).

The effects of the growth of the kitesurfing industry in Paje also affect Paje community members not directly involved in the intertidal zone. Members of the host community rely on fish as a staple of their diet (Hamidu, 2012). Thus, interference with fishing activities is harmful to general community members. In addition, increased tourism threatens cultural norms inherent on the majority Islamic island of Zanzibar. Scantily clad tourists as well as the rise in drugs, alcohol, and risky behavior have caused concern amongst teachers and community members about the influence on children.

Lastly, the various levels of government throughout Zanzibar have deemed tourism as a major source of potential growth in the coming years. As discussed in numerous development plans, tourism is seen as a source of substantial economic growth (ZCT, 2013; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2003). Government officials oftentimes make decisions that benefit the larger body of Zanzibar rather than those in the host

community. Based on the current goals, government officials hope to increase the level of high-end tourism in Zanzibar thus targeting a high spending population versus the lower budget backpackers. Many of these areas targeted for growth include low-income populations thus putting a few educated elite in power of the livelihoods and future of an entire village (Tosun, 2000)

While it is clear that the growth in the kitesurfing industry has contributed to the island wide development in tourism and subsequent economic benefits, it is also evident that this growth has had an impact on all of the various stakeholder groups in Zanzibar. As a result of the highly concentrated number of kitesurfing centers in combination with the close proximity to Paje Village, a number of conflicts have arisen by those who rely upon the intertidal zone to carry out day-to-day activities. This study investigated the growth of kitesurfing and the subsequent impacts on those dependent on the intertidal zone. The goal of this study to provide a better understanding of the effects of the kitesurfing industry on the Paje community and livelihoods as well as to investigate the potential to mediate conflicts in order to move towards sustainable development of the kitesurfing and broader tourism industry.

Statement of Impact

This study marks the first time that information pertaining to the impact of kitesurfing tourism on the host community in Paje has been gathered from various stakeholders. This knowledge gap was determined as a result of an extensive literature review in conjunction with personal communications with experts on African social-ecological issues in Zanzibar.

With the expansion of kitesurfing continuing rapidly in Paje, the importance of studying the relationship between kitesurfing tourism and the host community in Paje Village, Zanzibar is becoming increasingly relevant. As those involved in kitesurfing are benefitting from the economic growth, local community members have yet to see such prosperity. This could lead to increasing amounts of conflict on the beach and in the intertidal zone of Paje in terms of use of space, environmental degradation, and use of resources. Thus, this study attempts to put a face to some of the problems that have arisen due to the recent growth of the sport in Paje. In doing so, the goal is to outline possible

solutions to current conflict in order to improve coastal zone management. Furthermore, the potential management plans that may come out of this case study in Paje could be applicable to additional locations in Zanzibar and internationally where kitesurfing is popular.

Study Area

Paje, Zanzibar

Zanzibar is an archipelago consisting of two main islands—Unjuga and Pemba—off the east coast of Tanzania, East Africa. Paje is a rural coastal village on the southeast coast of Unguja Island (Figure 1). It is bordered by Bwejuu to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, Jambiani Kibijigi to the south, and Kitogani to the West. According to census data from 2012, Paje has a population of 4,600 people. The main livelihood activities in the village are fishing, farming, and seaweed farming. Fishing and farming are primarily male dominated activities, while seaweed farming has been a historically female driven industry (Paje *Sheha*, personal communication, April 11, 2016).

Paje was selected as the study site due to the fact that there is a high concentration of approximately kitesurfing centers within short stretch of shoreline. This makes the site different than other locales for kitesurfing such as Nungwi where only two kite surfing businesses operate. In addition, kitesurfers in Paje share beach and ocean space with fishermen, seaweed farmers, and coir rope makers. The interaction between these stakeholders often creates conflict in terms of competition for space (Sucknall et al., 2014).



Figure 1. Location of Paje Village, Zanzibar on Unguja Island and in relation to the continent of Africa. Image from <https://yolculukname.files.wordpress.com/2011/10/zanzibar-coast-map.jpg>.

Methodology

Fieldwork and data collection in Paje, Zanzibar occurred over a twelve-day period in mid-April 2016. In order to most effectively communicate with the variety of stakeholder groups identified to be affected by the growth of the kitesurfing industry in Paje, a number of methods were utilized including focus groups, semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, and non-participant observation. Interviews and

meetings were facilitated with the help of a village elder who served as the key informant and translator.

Focus Groups

Based on the methodology of Sucknall et al. (2014), focus group interviews were conducted with individuals from the following stakeholder groups in Paje: fishermen, teachers, hotel or tourism employees, farmers, seaweed farmers, and general female community members. A focus group was conducted with general female community members because men were over-proportionally represented in previous focus groups. The groups consisted of three to seven individuals who were selected with the help of the key informant.

Each focus group was asked a predetermined set of twelve to thirteen questions (Appendix 1.0). All questions were asked and answered in Kiswahili. Following each participant's response, the key informant would translate the response into English. The focus group that included teachers was only asked Questions 8-13 due to a time constraint. In addition, the focus group interview including teachers was conducted partially in English. Each interview lasted between twenty and forty-five minutes. All focus group participants were given a small stipend—approximately 1500 to 2500 Tanzanian Shillings—for refreshment at the conclusion of the interview. At the time of the study, the exchange rate was approximately \$1USD for 2,000TSh.

Semi-structured Formal Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, defined here as individual interviews with general pre-determined question sets (Appendices 2.0-5.0) used to guide the conversation, were conducted with the *Sheha* of Paje, hotel managers, kitesurfing business representatives, a dive center representative, a long-term member of the kitesurfing industry in Zanzibar, and tourists. General question sets were slightly altered during the course of interviews where appropriate.

Kitesurfing center interviews were first attempted in person. Due to the fact that it was the low season for tourism and kitesurfing in Paje, the majority of centers were closed. As a result, requests for interviews were sent via email to ten kitesurfing centers in and around Paje. Where applicable, two follow up request emails were sent to businesses that did not respond to prior communication.

Informal Interviews

Informal interviews were conducted with a number of individuals whose perspectives were not captured in formal interviews or focus groups. These included a nurse at the health clinic in Paje, a bag weaver and former seaweed farmer in the village, and kitesurfing center employees.

Non-Participant Observation

Non-participant observation of the beach and intertidal zone of Paje was conducted on six separate occasions over the course of the study period. Exact times and locations were random at first, but subsequently changed to reflect the high times for kitesurfing and other tourist activities. One afternoon was also spent in the restaurant associated with one kitesurfing business, observing kite-surfers and kite-surf center employees.

Policy and Legal Review

In order to determine the governmental policies that apply to the regulation of kitesurfing in Paje Village, a review of the existing law from the village to the national level was conducted. In addition, a review of the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism's role in managing tourism and kitesurfing in Paje was carried out.

Translation

Upon completion of fieldwork, audio recorded focus group interviews were translated for semantics with the help of a translator in Stone Town, Zanzibar. This second translation was used as a check for accuracy and potential bias.

Results

Focus Groups

A total of thirty Paje community members spanning an approximate age range of 18 to 70 years old participated in the six stakeholder focus groups (Table 1). A number of themes arose from the six focus group interviews that were held with various stakeholder groups—fishermen, teachers, hotel or tourism employees, farmers, seaweed farmers, and general female community members. In order to effectively represent the variety of responses both within and between focus groups, statements from interviewees are organized under four main themes: benefit or profit, effects of kitesurfing, lack of community organization or plan, and possible regulation.

Table 1. Summary of demographics, number, and estimated age of participants in six focus groups on kitesurfing in Paje Village Zanzibar. Focus groups were conducted in mid-April 2016.

Focus Group Code	Demographic	Number of Participants	Estimated Age Range
A	Fishermen	7 (5 contributed)	18-25
B	Teachers	4	25-45
C	Hotel and Tourism Employees	7	18-65+
D	Farmers	3	35-60
E	Seaweed Farmers	5	40-70
F	General Female Community Members	4	45-60
	Total	30	18-70

Benefit or Profit

Among the six livelihood focus groups and within the groups themselves, there were mixed responses as to whether or not kitesurfing is beneficial to the Paje community. Fishermen stated that they had heard that there were a lot of benefits from kitesurfing due to the fact that each kite-surfer is required to pay \$5 USD to the development committee. According to one respondent, the money gathered is used for community infrastructure projects such as water and sewage services. Teachers also stated that kitesurfing provides a lot of benefits for the community in Paje. Among the stated benefits were job opportunities and foreign exchange money. Participants in the hotel and tourism employee focus group had mixed responses as to whether or not there are benefits for the Paje community from kitesurfing. Positive effects mentioned by hotel and tourism employees were increasing income and improved transportation via better roadways. On the other hand, two participants in this group stated that they believe that only kitesurfing centers receive benefits from kitesurfing. According to farmers, many community members are not benefitting from the growth of kitesurfing in Paje, and a number of people are even experiencing losses from the presence of the sport. Participants in the farmers' focus group explained, that although the few members of the community who work in kitesurfing centers may be benefitting, the majority of the community is not employed by the centers and, therefore, does not experience any positive effects. While one participant in the seaweed farmer focus group stated that there is some small profit from kitesurfing tourism in Paje, the majority of respondents stated that there was no benefit or profit from kite surfing in the community. One seaweed farmer stated that the only benefits from kitesurfing are for the government, while another women called for a stop to kitesurfing. General female community members responded similarly to seaweed farmers. One respondent said that few community members in Paje profited and many faced poverty because of kitesurfing. Two other female community member interviewees said that there was no profit for the community from kitesurfing.

Effects of Kitesurfing

The effects that have arisen due to the recent growth of kitesurfing in Paje fall into three general categories: physical/environmental, economic, and sociocultural. Each of these categories and the diversity of stakeholder opinions expressed in relation to them over the course of the study will be discussed in turn below (Table 2).

Table 2. Summary of physical/environmental, economic, and sociocultural effects of kitesurfing tourism in Paje Village, Zanzibar as documented from six village stakeholder groups

Category	Summary of Responses from Stakeholder Interviews
Physical/ Environmental	Conflict for space with seaweed farmers, fishermen, and coir rope makers Lack of access to the beach for host population Increased beach erosion do to the removal of <i>Ipomoea</i>
Economic	Loss of income and livelihood activities for seaweed farmers, fishermen, and coir rope makers Increase in job opportunities at kitesurfing centers
Sociocultural	Increase in drug and alcohol use among youth Increase in truancy and school drop-outs Increase in crime Noise from tourists at night Rise in prostitution Employees not given appropriate time off for weddings and funerals

Physical/ Environmental Effects

The physical/environmental effects of kitesurfing refer to who can access space in the intertidal zone and on the beach for work as well as leisure. The main conflicts caused by kitesurfing activity in Paje arise out of the fact that multiple stakeholder groups are

competing against one another for limited space. This category also includes the degradation of natural resources and who is affected by the loss of said natural resources. Multiple stakeholder groups that were interviewed responded that the access of seaweed farmers, fishermen, and coir rope makers to the beach and intertidal zone has been limited due to the presence of kitesurfing activity.

Among these conflicts includes that between kite-surfers and seaweed farmers, both who rely exclusively on the intertidal zone for their respective activities. These two groups use the intertidal zone in Paje at low tide. Four of the six focus groups—all except teachers and hotel/ tourism employees—mentioned negative impacts of kitesurfing on seaweed farmers in terms of competition for space. Respondents stated that kite-surfers often maneuver their kites through seaweed farms, damaging the seaweed and pulling out the sticks used in the seaweed farm plots. In addition, kitesurfing centers have also been noted to ask seaweed farmers to discontinue their activity for a period of time in order to make way for kite surfers. Respondents in the seaweed farming group stated that, due to the lack of respect of kite-surfers for their presence in the intertidal zone, they sometimes have to stop their activities. Seaweed farmers also reported feeling afraid because the presence of kite-surfers in close proximity and because of the loud noise that they make when they hit the water.

Effects of kitesurfing are not limited to the water, however. Seaweed farmers who previously used the beach as a location to dry their seaweed stated that they are no longer able to do so due to the fact that kitesurfers and other hotel tourists now use the beach. There was also some indication that women who used to work in seaweed farming in Paje have abandoned the activity due to the increased presence of kite surfers.

Finally, seaweed farmers have not been the only party to feel the negative impacts of the competition for space between seaweed farmers and kite-surfers. Multiple parties that were interviewed mentioned the sometimes brutal injuries that have occurred when kite surfers have fallen on the sticks that are used by seaweed farmers. Respondents spoke of kite-surfers being impaled on the sticks.

All of the focus groups interviewed mentioned that kitesurfing has negative impacts on fishermen who fish in the waters off the coast of Paje. A common answer when asked about the effects of kitesurfing was that the activity interferes with the

equipment that fishermen use to catch fish. Fishermen who use string, nets, and canoes in order to catch fish have been disturbed or prevented from carrying out their activity by the presence of kite-surfers. In addition, there were reports that fishermen felt annoyed and disrespected when kite-surfers purposely splashed or jumped over their boats for fun. Many respondents stated that the presence of kite-surfers and the loud, slapping noise that they make when they hit the water after jumping causes fish to “run away.” An individual in the hotel and tourism employee group stated that some fishermen are now moving into jobs in tourism such as snorkeling guides to find work.

Results of focus group interviews and other interviews conducted during the course of this study showed that women who use the intertidal zone in Paje as part of the process for making coir are also impacted by the presence of kite-surfers. Kitesurfing businesses and beach front hotels in Paje were reported to remove bicycle tires from the intertidal zone that are used to mark the location of buried coconut husks that are being cured for use in making coir rope. Our key informant also stated that “investors” have placed signs on the beach banning certain activities such as making rope as well as other activities that affect the aesthetic appeal of the beach.

Lack of access to the beach in Paje was also mentioned to be occurring in a more general sense. Focus group respondents stated the increase in hotels—which have increased in number over the past decade largely in response to increases in numbers of kitesurfing tourists—have made walking to the beach from the village more difficult. One female community member interviewed stated that investors have taken space by building hotels. Due to the fact that the only entrances are between hotels, community members and others must now walk further distances to access the beach (Wallevik & Jiddawi, 2001).

In terms of degradation of the environment and natural resources in the intertidal zone comments were made in the focus group of fishermen as well as that of general female community members stating that kite centers remove the Goat’s Foot Creeper (*Ipomea pes-caprae*) from the intertidal zone. Because this plant is known to prevent erosion, its removal speeds the process of beach degradation.

Economic Effects

The economic effects of kitesurfing in Paje encompass who is earning or losing money from the presence and expansion of kitesurfing. The economic effects of kitesurfing overlap with the physical/ environmental effects experienced by local fishermen, seaweed farmers, and coir rope makers in the sense that lack of access to sufficient space in which to carry out their livelihood activities causes a loss of income. Therefore, as stated above, the impacts that kitesurfing has had on seaweed farmers, fishermen, and coir makers is causing many individuals in Paje to leave these industries in the hope of making more income through other activities. Thus, the economic diversity—including the size and viability of livelihood industries— of the community in Paje has been altered by the growth of kitesurfing.

Although kitesurfing has decreased the number of job opportunities in some industries in Paje, individuals who contributed to the study also mentioned the creation of new job opportunities as an effect. Respondents in three out of the six focus groups stated that young men from the village are employed at kitesurfing centers. While this employment was thought to lead to a decrease in poverty for the families of the young men that are employed, a number of individuals interviewed stated that very few individuals from Paje have been employed in kite-centers. Rather, kiting businesses are known to hire workers from outside the village.

Socio-Cultural Effects

Sociocultural effects of kitesurfing include changes in terms of the behavior, traditional activities, and clothing norms in Paje as a result of the increasing interactions between the local population and tourists.

All focus groups with the exception of hotel and tourism employees expressed concerns over the effects of kitesurfing tourism on the youth of Paje Village. The largest concern for community members participating in focus groups was an increase in drug and alcohol abuse as a result of the increasing presence of tourist establishments and foreign values in the village. One respondent mentioned an increase in cocaine and

heroin brought into the village that is trickling down into the hands of the young people of Paje and leading to drug abuse and dealing. In addition, an increase in the use of alcohol and marijuana was also mentioned by several focus group members to be occurring in conjunction with the increase in tourism in the village.

Among focus groups, the second most mentioned effect of the growth of kitesurfing on the youth of Paje was an increase in truancy and school drop-outs. Various community members mentioned youth in the village either skipping school to go watch kite-surfers on the beach or dropping out of school to work in kitesurfing centers. Furthermore, an interviewee involved in farming mentioned that, due to the fact that kitesurfing is a seasonal activity, the youth of Paje who are employed in kitesurfing centers occasionally resort to theft in the low season to make money.

In addition to the effects on youth, focus group responses indicated that culturally inappropriate behavior and dress are also effects of the increase in kitesurfing in Paje. An individual in the fisherman focus group stated that there has been an increase of crime in Paje perpetrated by village outsiders. The same individual stated that thieves from outside of Paje have been known to steal from kite-surfers who leave their belongings on the beach. The use of alcohol and the making of noise at night by tourists were cited by another fisherman as effects of the rise in kitesurfing tourism. One teacher mentioned a rise in prostitution. Finally, one fisherman found it culturally inappropriate that tourism workers are only given one day off to attend weddings and funerals.

Lack of Community Organization or Plan

Every focus group except those consisting of teachers commented on the fact that there has been a lack of community organization and planning when it comes to management of kitesurfing in Paje. When asked about previous attempts to manage kitesurfing, a few respondents from every focus group except that including teachers indicated that there was currently or had been a committee in place, but that it had failed to achieve its intended goal. The failure of the committee was explained by both a lack of strategic planning as well as a lack of transparency. Individuals from the fishermen, hotel and tourism employees, farmer, seaweed farmer, and general female community member

focus groups also all indicated that there is a lack of community knowledge about the supposed committee for managing kitesurfing in the village because there is no feedback or reports that are shared with the community.

Possible Regulation

Community members from every focus group interviewed made comments regarding a desire for more regulation of the kitesurfing industry in Paje. One commonly stated solution to the current conflicts due to kitesurfing was the creation of a “strong committee” of elected community members that would be responsible for creating policies and meeting with kitesurfing businesses. A desire for this committee and the process of regulating kitesurfing businesses to be transparent was stated. In addition, respondents stated that this committee should be responsible for collecting money from kitesurfing businesses and writing monthly reports summarizing earnings. Many community members expressed that they wanted kitesurfing in the Paje to be managed jointly by village members and representatives of kitesurfing businesses sitting down and making plans together.

Focus group participants also had suggestions for a number of more straightforward management options for kitesurfing. It was suggested that an office be set up to register and collect \$2 USD per day from every kite surfer. Multiple interviewees stated that there should be certain zones in the water and on the beach that kite-surfers can use, and that they should not be allowed to kite-surf outside of these zones. Another individual recommended that certain times be established when kite-surfers are allowed to use the ocean and beach.

Multiple participants in the focus group involving teachers stated that kitesurfing businesses should have to make a special contribution to the community school. The school was viewed as an important point for kitesurfing money entering the economy due to the fact that everyone in the community passes through. Other than the school, a participant in the hotel and tourism employee focus group suggested that money collected from kitesurfing businesses go towards improvement of the dispensary and water

infrastructure. Finally, one general community member stated that money should be collected from kite-surfers to go towards “old man welfare.”

Semi-structured Formal Interviews

Sheha

In terms of community organization or planning to manage kitesurfing, the *Sheha* mentioned that a meeting had been held between a development committee consisting of Paje leaders, officers from the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, and kitesurfing operators two years previously. At this meeting, it was decided that kitesurfing operators were supposed to pay the Paje community \$100 USD per month. The *Sheha* stated that this money has never been paid or collected, however. The *Sheha* added that tourism in Paje is largely under the oversight of the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism. When asked whether or not the village itself had any by-laws to regulate tourism or kitesurfing tourism in particular, the *Sheha* responded that it did not.

In response to questions about the organization of the government in Paje, the *Sheha* responded that the community council of the village is made up of ten members, four women and six men, which are chosen by the *Sheha*. The council members have a variety of occupations including teachers, doctors, fishermen, and farmers, but literacy is a requirement. According to the *Sheha*, each committee member is in charge of one section of Paje. The regional commissioner nominates the *Sheha*, and his term is five years. The *Sheha* acts under and reports to the district commissioner. He stated that he does not have the authority to directly ask kitesurfing businesses for any money for the community, however he can do so through the request of the regional commissioner. Community members are informed of government decisions at communal gatherings under a local tree in Paje Village.

Hotel Managers

Interviews were conducted with managers at five beachside hotels in Paje. Managers at all hotels interviewed responded that one of the activities that their clients come to Paje to participate in is kitesurfing. Of the four hotels where managers responded to the question, three estimated that over 50% of their clients partake in kitesurfing while in Paje (Figure 2). At the fourth hotel, managers responded that 30-35% of their customers partake in kitesurfing.

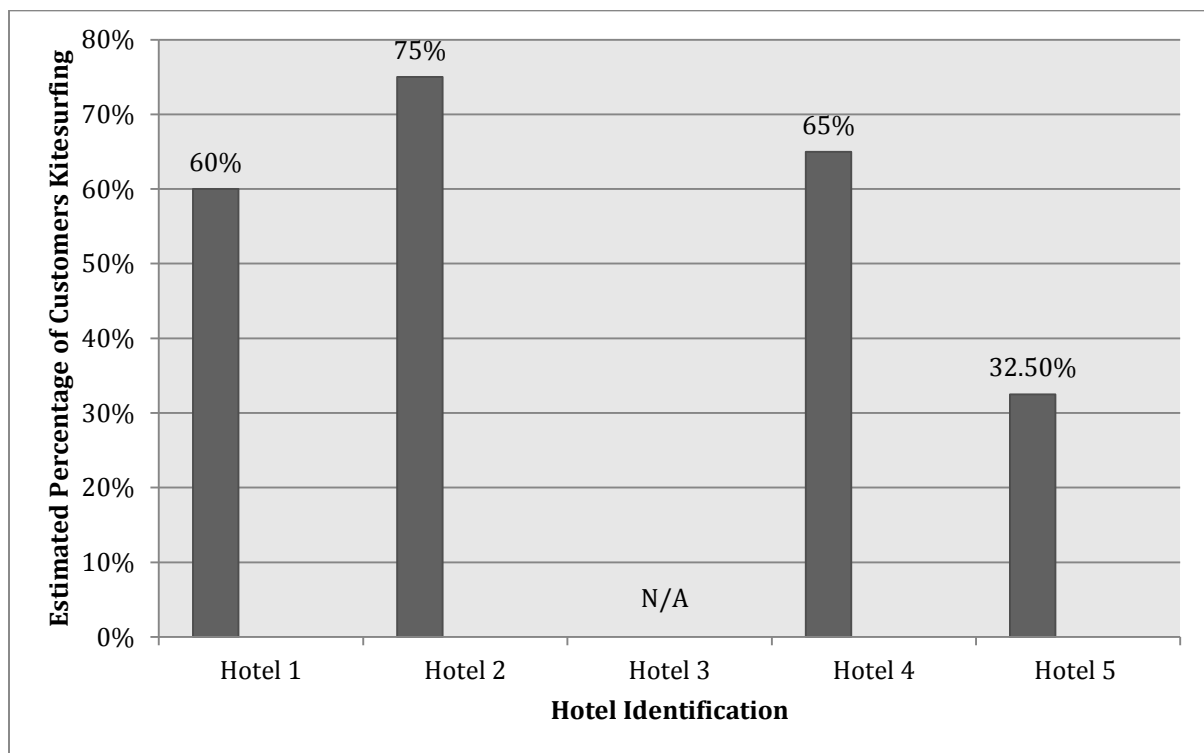


Figure 2. Percentages of hotel customers participating in kitesurfing as estimated by managers at five beachside hotels in Paje Village, Zanzibar. The average was taken where estimations were given as a range.

Managers at all of the hotels interviewed indicated that their establishment benefits from relationships with nearby kitesurfing schools. In one case, a hotel was in a formal relationship with a kitesurfing center whereby individuals partaking in kitesurfing at the center would stay at the hotel. Managers of two hotels stated that kitesurfing centers recommend their clients to their hotel, while the remaining two hotels stated that they recommend their customers to nearby kitesurfing centers. Furthermore, one

respondent indicated that hotels that are in good locations—close to kitesurfing centers—receive more tourism from kitesurfing.

Hotel managers interviewed also responded that kitesurfing tourism has positive benefits on Paje Village and the local economy. Among these benefits are employment opportunities at hotels and kite surfing centers (Table 3). Managers at four out of the five hotels indicated that they believe that kitesurfing boosts tourism in Paje and that their businesses are at least partially dependent on kitesurfing tourism for income. Two hotel managers also mentioned that kitesurfing tourism aids the host community in Paje in other ways such as increasing the amount of produce hotels buy from local farmers, increasing the amount of fish bought from local fishermen, and increasing business for small restaurants.

Table 3. Responses of hotel managers of five beachside hotels in Paje Village, Zanzibar when asked about the place of origin of their employees. Interviews with hotel managers were conducted in mid-April 2016.

Hotel	Origin of Employees
1	15 total employees, 12 Zanzibaris, 6 housekeepers from Paje Village
2	Foreign owner, 2 foreign managers, majority local staff
3	14 total employees, 3 employees from Paje Village
4	Locals work in gardening and housekeeping
5	Most employees from mainland Tanzania, some are local

Three of the five hotel managers interviewed also stated that the large presence of kitesurfing in Paje has negative effects on the local community as well as on non-kitesurfing tourism. One manager stated that, although he believes that most kitesurfing people are good, some do not consider the risks that the sport may have on local people and are disrespectful. It was brought up by one interviewee that the host population does not like kitesurfers, especially when they are present in large numbers. This individual also said that their hotel registers kitesurfers when they arrive and charges then a fee of \$5 USD per day that goes to the community. Two other hotel managers mentioned that kitesurfing is a hindrance and sometimes dangerous for their clients, especially those who just want to enjoy the beach or swim. He stated that some clients are turned off by the large numbers of kitesurfers on the beach and in the water.

Kitesurfing Centers

Although a total of ten kitesurfing centers in and around Paje were contacted for interviews, only two agreed to participate. One of the kitesurfing center interviews was conducted with a manager in person, while the other was carried out via email. It should be noted that one of the kitesurfing centers interviewed was to the south of Paje in Jambiani, but responses from this business were included due to the close proximity and general low response rate.

One of the kite centers is affiliated with a local hotel, while the other is not and seeks permission once a year from the local community to operate. Both kitesurfing businesses interviewed mentioned that their clientele include levels of kitesurfers from beginners through experts. One center responded that it operates only in the windy seasons from June to September as well as mid-December to mid-March. It has between 200 and 300 clients per year. The second business operates year round, and it stated that it has approximately 20 clients per month in the high season and 10 to 12 clients per month in the low season. Both businesses offer lessons, equipment rental, and storage facilities for clients with their own equipment. In terms of employees, one of the businesses responded that they employ three or four local beach assistants as well as two to three licensed kitesurfing instructors from Europe. The other kitesurfing center replied that its manager and two of its instructors are from Paje. In addition, this business also employs three employees from mainland Tanzania, two employees from Kenya, and two instructors from Europe.

In terms of impact in Paje, both kitesurfing centers responded that they benefit the community by employing locals. One business specifically stated that it wanted its clients to be involved with the local community and eat out. The other business stated that it donates to the local community when it gets letters from the *Sheha* asking for money for things such as water infrastructure. In addition, this same business stated that it buys books and pencils for children in the local school at least three times per year. Both kite surfing centers denied that there were environmental impacts from kite surfing. The two respondents indicated that possible injuries related to kitesurfing result from sea urchins, jellyfish, fishermen's poles, and seaweed farms. In response to whether or not there are

any regulations regarding where kitesurfers can go, one business responded that beginners are trained in open areas while experts can go where they please as long as it is away from seaweed farms and corals (Figure 3). Finally, the kitesurfing business that is not currently affiliated with a hotel stated that it would like to build a hotel or guest rooms for the business.

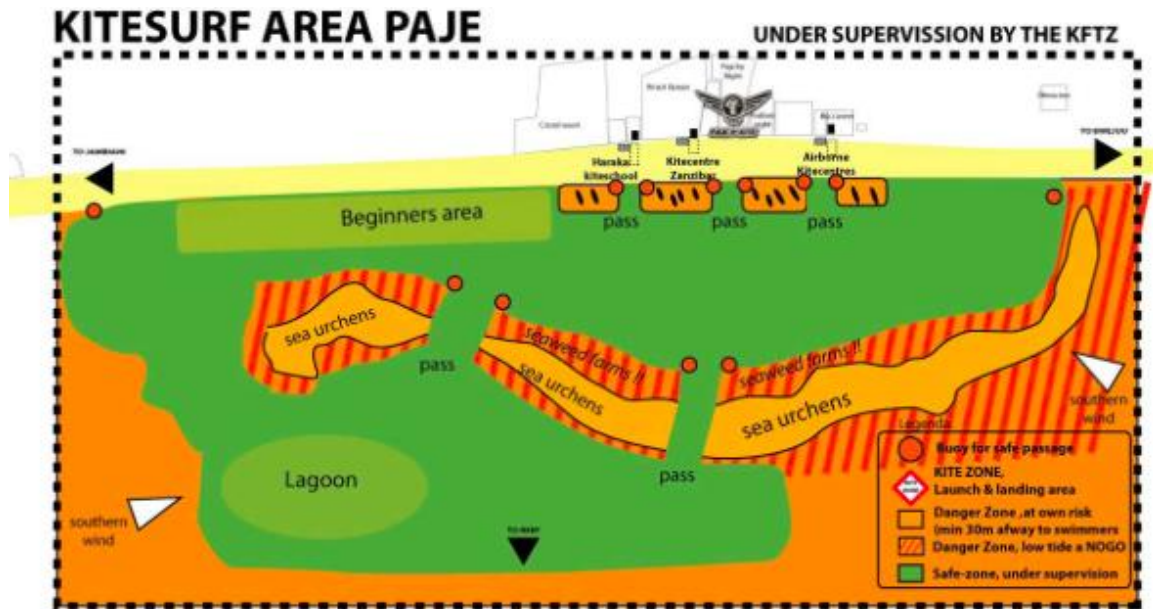


Figure 3. Area map of the intertidal zone and beach of Paje Village, Zanzibar detailing appropriate locations as well as hazards for kitesurfing activity. The locations and names of kitesurfing schools and various hotels are also included. Image taken from <http://www.pajebykite.net/kite-centre-zanzibar/info-and-area-map/>.

Diving Centers

The dive center representative interviewed stated that kitesurfing has positive effects on their business. The interviewee estimated that between 20% and 30% of kitesurfers also utilize the dive school at high tide when kitesurfing conditions are not ideal. He suggested that the partnership between kitesurfing schools and dive centers could be strengthened in the future. The respondent also spoke of accidents that can occur due to kitesurfers landing on sticks in seaweed farms. He mentioned that there are maps marking the location of seaweed farms for kite surfers, but that these maps are sometimes

ineffective due to the changing location of seaweed farms. Finally, the interviewee said that there was a need for kitesurfing centers to partner with the community. He suggested that there be a \$1 USD fee per kitesurfer per day and that buoy markers be placed where kitesurfers are allowed to kite.

Tourists

As it was low season, it was difficult to find large quantities of tourists to interview at appropriate times. As a result, a total of five tourist interviews were conducted on the beach in Paje. All interviewees were female and between the ages of twenty and thirty. Four of the participants interviewed were not participating in kitesurfing while in Paje, while one interviewee was participating in kitesurfing. Two of the non-kitesurfing tourists interviewed stated that they believe that kitesurfing adds to the aesthetic appeal of the beach in Paje but that this could change when there are large amounts of kitesurfers around as it would be distracting and limit access to the water. Two other kitesurfers said that kitesurfing does not alter the appeal of the beach for them, and one further commented that she enjoyed the variety. When asked about the effects of tourism and kitesurfing on the local community, all tourist participants said that they believed that the activities were sources of income for the local community. Finally, four out of the five participants stated that, if they were to kitesurf, they would be willing to pay a nominal fee each day that would go to the local community. One individual said that they would be willing to pay \$2 USD, while another proposed 5,000 TSh. A third respondent said she would be willing to pay a few dollars. The participant who said that she would not be willing to pay to kitesurf explained that the money might inflate the economy if it went directly into the hands of community members.

Informal Interviews

Informal interviews were conducted with kitesurfing center employees, a local woman in the village who sells braided bags, and a nurse at the health clinic in Paje.

According to kitesurfing center employees, Paje is a desirable location for

kitesurfing because of the fact that the intertidal zone has a very gradual slope very far out into the ocean. Because of this fact, kite surfers that fall can more easily get back up onto their boards.

The woman making and selling braided bags explained that she used to be a seaweed farmer but stopped ten years previously when kitesurfing moved into the area because seaweed farming was no longer profitable. In addition to making braided bags, the woman said that she also grows plants from seed for local farms.

The nurse at the health clinic in Paje Village stated that about three kite surfers go to the clinic every month for treatment for injuries obtained while participating in the sport. The nurse explained that common injuries experienced by kite surfers include cuts on their back, arms, and fingers as well as bruises. The hospital staff administers stitches to kitesurfers with cuts. In addition, the nurse stated that kitesurfers must buy their own medicine but are treated for free at the clinic because it is run by the government.

Non-Participant Observation

Non-participant observation of the intertidal zone and beach in Paje in mid-April indicated a low presence of kite-surfers during the low season. Only one kitesurfing center was open along the beach. During low tide, anywhere from three to six kitesurfers were observed in the intertidal zone in front of the kite surfing school. Experienced kitesurfers were seen practicing jumps. Upon returning to the water after a jump, kite boards occasionally made a loud, slapping sound. Once, a man who had fallen off of his board and whose kite had come down into the water was observed. Kitesurfing lessons were taking place on the beach in front of the kitesurfing center. In addition, kites not currently in use were laid out on the beach in front of the kitesurfing center. On most days, approximately fifteen fishing boats were also observed in the intertidal zone in Paje.

Policy and Legal Review

Zanzibar Commission for Tourism

According to the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, the laws governing tourism in Zanzibar are made at the level of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar and below (Figure 4). The Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, in particular, makes most of the laws that govern tourism on the archipelago. Although villages in Zanzibar are allowed to make by-laws concerning matters in their own territories, higher levels of government must approve these laws (Majamba, 2016). However, there is currently a campaign in place in Zanzibar referred to as “*Utali kwa wote*” (“Tourism for all”) aimed at encouraging citizens to take part and voice their opinion about the development of tourism in their community (Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, 2013). According to an officer at the ZCT, the campaign encourages host populations to “possess the tourism” (ZCT, personal communication, April 28, 2016). Thus, actors at multiple levels of the government in Zanzibar have a stake in the creation of management plans and policy that affect kitesurfing in Paje.

Currently, kitesurfing businesses in Zanzibar are required to pay fees to a number of governmental organizations for the right to operate. Kitesurfing businesses in Zanzibar that are opened by foreign investors without a local partner such as a hotel are required to go through the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA). The minimum investment for non-partnered foreign investment is currently \$300,000 USD. In addition, kitesurfing businesses operating in Zanzibar currently pay \$2000 USD per site to the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism each year for an operational license (ZCT, personal communication, April 28, 2016). Therefore, the precedence for regulation of kitesurfing has already been set at higher levels of government.

In terms of policies regulating kitesurfing at the village level, an officer at the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism stated that there was an agreement between kitesurfing investors and Paje people. As a part of this agreement, there is a specific amount that kitesurfers are supposed to pay that goes directly to the village. It was also indicated that there was at some point a “misunderstanding” in terms of this agreement,

but it is now solved. According to the respondent, fee-collection from kitesurfers is carried out at a local level. He named an individual “member” who he said is responsible for collecting the fee.



Figure 4. Depiction of governmental organization from the village level to the national level in Zanzibar.

Discussion

Despite the governmental push for “Utali kwa wote” (“Tourism for all”) in recent years, meaning that all citizens should be included and active in making decisions about the development of tourism in their area, this case study of kitesurfing development shows that tourism development has not been a community inclusive activity in Paje (Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, personal communication, April 28, 2016). There are three causes of the lack of inclusion of the host community in making decisions about tourism:

1. Stakeholders from outside of the village—including higher levels of government and foreign-owned kitesurfing businesses—seem to make most of the decisions in this regards without consultation of the host population.
2. There is a lack of governmental communication and follow-through at multiple levels in terms of the implementation of policies as well as the reporting of grievances.
3. There is a lack of community knowledge about the issues and, therefore, a lack of capacity to create solutions at the local level.

There is currently a mismatch of vision between how the government of Zanzibar intends the Paje intertidal zone to be used and how locals desire it to be used. The government has zoned the intertidal zone in Paje to allow for kitesurfing (Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, personal communication, April 28, 2016). According to the

ZCT, this means that the people of Paje must give up some of their activities in the intertidal zone in order to allow kitesurfing to occur. As a result, community members have suffered from a lack of income as well inaccessibility of space that they have used for generations. Many community members feel that they should be compensated for their loss by being able to collect a fee from kitesurfers. The continual conflict that kitesurfing continues to cause with traditional livelihoods and use of space shows that current governmental policies are not effective.

In addition, there is currently no motivation for kitesurfing businesses or individual kitesurfers to take a stake in the wellbeing of the host population in Paje. Kitesurfing businesses do not currently experience any benefits or repercussions from the lack of community involvement. This may partially arise from the fact that there is a lack of communication between kitesurfing businesses and the local community. The fact that the businesses draw the majority of their employees from outside of the local community is likely a contributing factor. Without partnerships or policy in place to encourage kitesurfing businesses to contribute to community development in some manner, it is unlikely that positive financial and social involvement in the community will become the norm.

Although, the hierarchy of government from the village level to the national level is set up in a way that theoretically could allow tourism policy and management in Paje to occur on a number of levels, this is not the case. Instead, there appear to be many gaps, loopholes, and weaknesses at multiple levels of government that are preventing the effective management of tourism. For example, policy approved by the ZCT has supposedly been set up to allow the Paje to collect money from kitesurfers via a village committee. According to the reports of various community stakeholders, it seems that this committee is not effectively functioning in the village. It is difficult to tell, however, at what level of government this failure is occurring at as well as what the exact cause is. Part of the problem may also be due to the fact that there is a lack of interdepartmental communication between various sectors of the government. Many different departments of the Zanzibar government—including the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism and the Department of the Environment among others—are involved in the regulation of tourism in Zanzibar. If a village such as Paje has a grievance related to tourism, there is not one

unified body for the *Sheha* to report to. Instead, the department that the *Sheha* reports to depends on the nature of the grievance. The complex nature of this system creates many opportunities for information to get lost in relay.

Furthermore, difficulties in implementing policies to regulate kitesurfing tourism arise from a lack of access to knowledge capable of empowering community members to participate in the creation and implementation of policy and by-laws to manage kitesurfing at the village level. Within Paje, community stakeholders had a variety of responses as to whether or not there was currently any fee charged to kitesurfing businesses for their operation. There was a general consensus among focus group participants that there was a village committee in place to work with kitesurfing businesses but that this committee was not effective and had failed to achieve its goals. Furthermore, participants stated that there was a general lack of community awareness of the activity of the committee because there were no feedback or reports shared. While the policy is in place at the national for the community to economically benefit from the growth in kitesurfing tourism, it appears that it is partially the community itself that may not be taking advantage of the fee that it is allowed to charge kite-surfers. But as to not put all of the blame on the Paje community, the failure may also be due to a lack of monitoring and oversight by higher levels of government. Therefore, in order to resolve the community-level grievances with managing kitesurfing tourism in Paje communication must be strengthened.

The first step to overcoming the issues with management is to strengthen the connections between government and the local community that play a role in tourism management in Paje. At the community level, individuals in focus group interviews repeatedly said that a “stronger committee” was needed to solve the conflicts that have arisen in Paje due to kitesurfing. In practice, this strengthened committee may look like a group of individuals in where each member comes from and is elected by a different livelihood group in the village. This group would be responsible for deciding matters such as how much money is collected from kite-surfers as well as where and when this money should be collected. One focus group suggestion was that a permanent location be set up on the beach where kite-surfers are expected to come and pay the fee. Individuals from this committee could also be responsible for collecting the fee at the collection

point. As also mentioned by multiple focus groups, this committee should be responsible for writing a monthly report in order to inform the community of the money collected. Collected money should not be handed out to directly individuals but rather used for community development of infrastructure such as improving of water pumps, sanitation, schools, and the hospital facility. Furthermore, increased knowledge of their legal and political rights as a host community, will allow the members of Paje Village to be able to create the by-laws of policies necessary to protect their livelihoods and economic opportunities as well as benefit kitesurfing businesses to some extent.

Limitations

This study is limited by the fact that it does not have an extensive amount of input from tourists or kitesurfing businesses equal to that of community members. Because the majority of kitesurfing businesses were closed during the low season when the study was conducted, they were contacted and asked for interviews via email. However, responses were only successfully attained from approximately 20% of the kitesurfing businesses contacted. This could indicate a lack of interest in answering questions pertaining to the study or a general lack of communication during the down season. Further research will need to be done, especially during the high seasons for kitesurfing activity in June to September as well as in mid-December to mid-March— in order to gain a better understanding of the feasibility of possible solutions to stated conflicts in terms of acceptability by tourists and kitesurfing businesses. Thus, the perspective presented in this paper is primarily based in the experience of the host community.

Conclusion

The tourism industry, and more specifically the kite-surfing industry, in Zanzibar has the power to contribute to Gross Domestic Product, foreign exchange earnings, employment, and government revenues. In addition, there is potential for kitesurfing to benefit the people of Paje—in terms of creating jobs, bringing in revenue for hotels, and generally aiding the local economy. As it stands now, the host population in Paje has

experienced many conflicts from and not yet been fully able to realize the potential benefits of kitesurfing tourism. As a result, it is imperative that actions are taken to mitigate conflict, promote economic involvement in the community, increase transparency, and spread knowledge regarding the situation to local stakeholder groups. The community and local government of Paje—including the *Sheha*, community council, and general community members—must organize themselves in order to effectively collect fees and create by-laws that will benefit the host population in Paje. Then community officials, officers of the Zanzibar Commission for tourism as well as other Zanzibari government departments, and kitesurfing businesses must communicate in order to determine how they may compromise so that all parties may benefit. Multiple stakeholders and levels of government must work together to enforce kitesurfing policies so that all parties can receive an equitable share of space and resources in the intertidal zone.

Recommendations

According to research by Torell (2000), it is highly important that coastal zone management in East Africa includes principles of adaptive management including “experimentation” and “active participation by relevant actors.” This should entail extensive community participation in planning and implementation of coastal zone management plans. As discussed by Masalu (2000), the effective involvement of the community at all stages of implementation is vital for natural resource management.

Based on the need for management plans to serve local community members, hotels, and tourists, it is recommended that temporal and special management strategies be employed (Norland et al., 2013; de la Torre-Castro, 2012). This management strategy would entail agreements between stakeholder groups or community by-laws regarding who can access the intertidal zone at what times and where certain activities can take place within designated periods. This would likely designate certain parts of the beach as “kitesurfing zones” while prohibiting said activities on other parts of the beach. This management tactic would provide kitesurfers, general tourists, and local community

members fair access to the intertidal zone in order to ensure that all stakeholder groups have access to its resources and benefits.

Furthermore, it is recommended that further research on the following subjects be conducted:

1. A study of kitesurfing in the high-season in order to have more access to kitesurfing businesses and tourists to interview as well as to better be able to observe the interactions of stakeholders in the intertidal zone.
2. An in depth study of the collection of fees by the Paje community from kitesurfing business due to the fact that this study obtained so mixed answers.
3. A study should also be conducted in order to learn more about the ecological impacts of kitesurfing on the intertidal zone ecosystem in Paje. Particularly, a study should be conducted focusing on the impact of kitesurfing on fish. This could be used to determine whether the decrease in fish presence around Paje that was mentioned by multiple stakeholder groups in this study is in fact a side effect of kitesurfing or whether this phenomenon has other causes such as overfishing.

The results of studies conducted according to these recommendations will be relevant not only to the Paje community, but to other communities hosting kitesurfing and tourism activities throughout Zanzibar and the Western Indian Ocean.

Furthermore, as this study has been one of their first to investigate the affects of watersport tourism on a host community, it may be utilized to inform management decisions in coastal areas around the world.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.0: Questions for Focus Groups

- Q1: How has your livelihood changed over the past 20 years, 10 years, and 5 years in Paje?
- Q2: What are the causes of these changes?
- Q3: Are [insert focus group type] positively affected by kitesurfing tourism in Paje?
- Q4: Are [insert focus group type] negatively affected by kitesurfing tourism in Paje?
- Q5: How has kitesurfing affected the use of the beach and ocean in Paje?

Q6: What types of conflicts have arisen due to the increase in kitesurfing in Paje?

Q7: Have there been any previous attempts to manage kitesurfing activity in Paje? If so, what were the outcomes?

Q8: In what ways is kitesurfing tourism good for the local people who live in the Paje community?

Q9: In what ways is kitesurfing tourism bad for the local people who live in the Paje community?

Q10: What impacts has tourism in general or kitesurfing tourism had on children or young people in the community?

Q11: What impacts has kitesurfing had on the environment in Paje?

Q12: What solutions do you suggest for the conflicts that have arisen in Paje due to kitesurfing?

Q13: Is there anything else that you would like to say about kitesurfing or tourism in Paje?

Appendix 2.0: Questions for Sheha of Paje, Key Informant

2.1: First Meeting

Q1: What are the main sources of income for individuals in Paje?

Q2: How has tourism developed in Paje over the past few years?

Q3: When did you begin to see kitesurfing tourism in Paje?

Q4: What effects has kitesurfing had on the community?

Q5: What involvement does the community as a whole have in kitesurfing?

Q6: What roles do individual community members play in kitesurfing?

Q7: Do community members benefit financially from kite- surfing?

Q8: What types of individuals in the community benefit the most from kitesurfing tourism?

Q9: Does the village regulate tourism in any way?

Q10: Does the village have laws in place in regard to kitesurfing? If so, how are they created and how are they enforced?

Q11: Are there any village land or resource use customs that apply to kitesurfing?

2.2 Second Meeting

Q1: Can you tell us a little bit more about the community structure of Paje?

Q2: How is the *Sheha* chosen?

Q3: How long have you been *Sheha*?

Q4: What are the responsibilities of the *Sheha*?

Q5: Can you tell us more about the community council?

Q6: What decisions is the council in charge of?

Q7: Who is on the council, and how are they chosen?

Q8: How does the committee inform the community about its work?

Q9: Do you ever ask kitesurfing businesses for donations for the community? Have you been successful in doing so?

Q11: What businesses donate, and what do they donate?

Appendix 3.0: Questions for Hotel Managers

Q1: What are the main activities that your customers come to Paje to participate in?

Q2: What percentage of your customers would you estimate partake in kitesurfing?

Q3: Do you refer your customers to any particular kitesurfing businesses?

Q4: Where do individuals who work at your hotel come from?

Q5: To what extent is your business reliant on kitesurfing for income?

Q6: When did your hotel open—before or after kitesurfing started to boom in Paje?

Q7: How have the demographics of your hotel changed over the years?

Q8: Is there anything else that you would like to share about kitesurfing?

Appendix 4.0: Questions for Kitesurfing Industry Representatives

Q1: How long have you been a part of the kitesurfing industry? How much of this time has been spent in Paje?

Q2: Can you give us a brief history of kitesurfing both in the area and at large, from your knowledge?

Q3: What does a typical day of kitesurfing look like? Where you meet your clients? Where do they receive instruction? What part of the beach do you operate in?

Q4: How many kitesurfing tourists do you receive a year?

Q5: What are your busiest months?

Q6: Who are your main clients? Approximately what proportion of the clients are professionals, amateurs, and tourists who just saw the sport in Paje and wanted to try it out?

Q7: How much do your services cost?

Q8: Can you outline the rules and regulations regarding where individuals partaking in kitesurfing can operate on the beach/ in the ocean?

Q9: What are the environmental impacts of kitesurfing, and, if applicable, what do you do to mitigate them?

Q10: What involvement do you and your company have with the community?

Q11: In your opinion, in what ways does the kitesurfing industry benefit the community?

Q12: How do you get permits? Do you have to pay to the community?

Q13: How safe is kitesurfing? Have there been any accidents or injuries related to the activity? What safety and/ or emergency procedures are in place?

Q14: Who runs the business? Is it in hotels, centers affiliated with hotels, beach boys, or local villagers?

Q15: Where do kitesurfing business managers/ employees come from?

Q16: Is there anything else that you would like to share about kitesurfing?

Appendix 5.0: Questions for Tourists

Q1: Where are you from?

Q2: What activities are you participating in while on the beach in Paje?

Q3 Kite-surfers: How would you describe your kitesurfing experience—beginner, mid-level, expert, or professional? How many days are you kitesurfing in Paje?

Q3 Non-kite-surfers: Do you think kitesurfing adds to or detracts from the aesthetic appeal of the beach in Paje? Or are you neutral?

Q4: What interactions do you have with local community members?

Q5: What types of effects do you think tourism and kitesurfing have on the local community?

Q6: Would you be open to paying a nominal fee each day of kitesurfing that would go to the community? If so, how much?

Appendix 6.0: Questions for Zanzibar Commission for Tourism

Q1: Do you play any role in licensing kitesurfing centers? If so, what is the process like? If not, do you know who does?

Q2: Who makes the laws that deal with tourism in Zanzibar?

Q3: What levels of government have a stake in the laws that govern the tourism industry in Paje?

Q4: Do you know anything about the 30-meter line for beach construction in Zanzibar?

Q5: Do you know anything about the laws regarding the removal of ipomoea from beaches in Zanzibar?

Q6: If a fee for kitesurfing were to hypothetically be collected, who would be in charge of this? What level of government would be responsible for creating a law regarding fee collection?

Q7: What level of government would be in charge of laws regarding zonation of the beach in Paje?

Q8: Have there been conflicts with tourism and communities anywhere in Zanzibar? How has this been faced?